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received nothing from Germany, he had nothing to offer to it in return, and Germany has never taken any notice either of him or his doctrines. The nation that had outgrown and shelved Hegel's Phenomenology had no inducement, one might think, to take up Comte's Sociology.

We are positive enough, ourselves, to infer from experience, that mankind cannot dispense with noble fools, though it may dispense with puerile sages. And as Comte belongs to both these classes, we can neither reject nor accept him, such as he is. But in the solvent of discriminating and impartial criticism, the noble fool and the puerile sage may be made to disappear altogether. All that is puerile in him and foolish we may let evaporate, and what remains will be a small but shining crystal of *noble wisdom*, — no longer Comtism, but due to Comte. And this we must accept with gratitude, for it will be a precious ingredient of our daily bread as well as of any *Elixir Catholicum* which benevolent thinkers may hereafter devise for the relief and comfort of their suffering brethren.

E. GRYZANOWSKI.

ART. II. — THE RECENT REVOLUTIONS IN JAPAN.

It is the popular impression in this country and in Europe that the immediate cause of the fall of the shōgun's (tycoon's) government, the restoration of the mikado to supreme power, and the abolition of the feudal system, was the presence of foreigners on the soil of Japan. No one who has lived in Dai Nippon and made himself familiar with the currents of thought among the natives, or who has studied the history of the country, can share this opinion. The foreigners and their ideas were the occasion, not the cause, of the destruction of the dual system of government which would certainly have resulted from the operation of causes already at work before their arrival. Their presence served merely to hasten what was already inevitable.

We purpose in this sketch to expose the true causes of the recent marvellous changes in Japan. These comprise a three-

fold political revolution within, a profound alteration in the national policy toward foreigners, and the inauguration of social reforms which lead us to hope that Japan has rejected the Asiatic, and adopted the European, ideal of civilization. We shall attempt to prove that these causes operated *from within*, not from without; from impulse, not from impact; and that they were largely intellectual.

The history of Japan, as manifested in the current of events since the advent of Commodore Perry, has its sources in a number of distinct movements, some logically connected, others totally distinct from the rest. These were intended to effect: 1. The overthrow of the shōgun (pseudo "tycoon") and his reduction to his proper level as a vassal; 2. The restoration of the mikado, or true emperor, to his ancient and rightful supreme power; 3. The abolition of the feudal system and a return to the ancient imperial régime; 4. The abolition of Buddhism and the establishment of pure Shintō as the national faith and the engine of government. These four movements were historically and logically connected. The fifth was the expulsion of the foreign "barbarians," and the dictatorial isolation of Japan from the rest of the world; the sixth, the abandonment of this design, the adoption of Western civilization, and the entrance of Japan into the comity of nations. The origin of the first and second movements must be referred to a time distant from the present by a century and a half; the third and fourth, to a period within the past century; the fifth and sixth, to an impulse developed mainly within the memory of young men now living.

There existed long before the advent of Perry definite conceptions of the objects to be accomplished. These lay in the minds of earnest thinkers, to whom life under the dual system was a perpetual winter of discontent, like snow upon the hills. In due season the spring would have come that was to make the flood. The presence of Perry in the Bay of Yedo was like an untimely thaw, or a hot south-wind in February. The snow melted, the streams gathered. Like houses built upon the sand, the shōgunate and the feudal system were swept away. They were already too rotten and worm-eaten

to have the great fall which the familiar simile might suggest. The mikado and the ancient ark of state floated into power. Buddhism stood, as upon a rock, damaged, but firm. The foreigner, moored to the pile-driven foundations of his treaties, held his own more firmly than before. The flood in full momentum was swollen by a new stream and deflected into a new channel. Abandoning the attempt to defy the gravitation of events, to run up the hill of a past forever sloping backwards into the impossible, the flood found surcease with the rivers of nations that make the ocean of human solidarity.

The chief motors of these movements were intellectual. Neither the impact of foreign cannon-balls at Kagoshima or Shimonoséki, nor the heavy and often unjust indemnities demanded from the Japanese, wrought the events of the last ten years, as foreigners so complacently believe. An English writer resident in Japan concludes his translation of the "Legacy of Iyeyasü" by referring to it as the "Constitution under which this country [Japan] was governed until the time within the recollection of all, when it gavé way to the irresistible momentum of a higher civilization." The translator evidently means that the fall of the dual form of government and the feudal system were the direct results of contact with the higher civilization of Europe and America. Mr. F. O. Adams, in his "History of Japan," — a misnamed book which treats mainly of the foreign relations of Japan since 1854, — seems to imply that the bombardment of Kagoshima and Shimonoséki was the main cause that impelled Japan to adopt the foreign civilization.

Much also has been said and written in praise of Japan for her abolition of the feudal system by a "stroke of the pen," and thus "achieving in one day what it required Europe centuries to accomplish." An outsider, whose knowledge of Dai Nippon is derived from our old text-books and cyclopædias, or from non-resident book-makers, may be so far dazed as to imagine the Japanese demigods in statecraft, even as the American newspapers make them all princes. To the writer, who has lived in a daiuniō's capital before, during, and after the abolition of feudalism, the comparison suggests the reason why the Irish recruit cut off the leg instead of the head of his

enemy. Long before its abolition, Japanese feudalism was ready for its grave. The overthrow of the shōgun left it a headless trunk. To cut off its legs and bury it was easy, and in reality this was what the mikado's government did, as we shall show.

As it would be vain to attempt to comprehend our own late civil war by beginning at Sumter, or even with the Compromise Measures of 1851, so one will be misled who, in attempting to understand the Japan of to-day, looks only at events since Perry's time. The roots of the momentous growth of 1868 are to be found within the past centuries. To discover these we shall very briefly outline the history of Japan.

About the year 660 B. C. a race of conquerors from the mainland of Asia landed in Kiushiu and subdued the aborigines who inhabited that island, Shikokū, and Hondo (the main island, most improperly called "Nippon" by foreigners). The conquerors fixed their capital (or miako) not far from Kiōto in Yamato. The head of the nation, or mikado, ruled as emperor, making the laws, leading his armies, and performing all the duties of an actual ruler. The two races, the conquerors and the conquered, gradually amalgamated and formed, with more or less infusion of Chinese, Corean, Tartar, and Malay blood, the present race of Japanese. The religion of these ancient people was Kami no Michi, or Shintō (Way or Doctrine of the Gods). According to its dogmas Japan is the land created first by the gods, and the mikado or emperor is their descendant, representative, and vicegerent. Hence, Japan is the Holy Country. As the mikado is divine, all Japanese are in duty bound to obey him. After his death he is deified. The government is essentially a theocracy. The various provinces of the empire were governed by vassal princes who were relatives of the mikado, and held their domains in feud to him. Thus in ancient times a species of feudalism existed, though its form was very different from that of the Middle Ages, since as yet there was no special military class, and the emperor himself was commander-in-chief of his improvised armies. During the fifth and succeeding centuries Japan borrowed a civilization from China. Letters, literature, and Buddhism were introduced, and Japan thus became

intellectually the colony of China, whence have come the knowledge of agriculture, manufactures, the arts, religion, philosophy, ethics, medicine, and science generally. She seems now to be repeating the same experiment by borrowing at wholesale from the Western nations.

In the seventh century the system of government was reformed and that of China adopted. The officials were divided into civil and military. The government of the empire was carried on by a great central council (*kuan*), with ministries or boards of government (*shō*), and local prefects (*ken*). This was the *gun-ken* system. All was centralized directly in the person of the emperor. The theocratic idea was still preserved and emphasized. Meanwhile the region lying to the east and north of Kiōto was comparatively unknown, inhabited by wild tribes of aborigines. To bring them into obedience, continuous fighting and the movement of large bodies of troops were necessary. The long-sustained military operations consolidated the empire, completed the fusion of the conquerors and conquered, and gave rise to the formation of a distinct military class. The work of the camp was no longer done by the mikado, but by a general (Jap. *shōgun*). Prior to the eighth century the common people became soldiers on an emergency, which being over, they returned to their labor.

In the eighth century the most hardy men were chosen to serve permanently as soldiers, while to the weaker was left the work of agriculture. Thus arose a distinct military class, while at the court in Kiōto all the civil offices were gradually monopolized by the Fujiwara family of courtiers, who held their power by marrying their daughters to the mikados. They formed a bureaucracy which rose like a wall of division between the sovereign and his people. They usurped the right of opening all petitions addressed to the emperor, and thus step by step obtained the real power and became proprietors of the throne and government. Under such a system the mikados became *fainéant*, while in the North and East the military men were busy in subduing all the main island for them. By degrees the two famous houses of Taira and Minamoto, both of whom were originally offshoots of the imperial line, by signal ability and valor rose to the leadership of

the military class. By force of long-continued service the warriors began to look upon their leaders as lords, and the relations of lord and retainer (afterwards called *daimiō* and *kerai*) grew into permanence. These professional soldiers would follow and obey only their Taira and Minamoto leaders, considering no order binding unless issued under their seal. Thus, gradually the military power slipped from the hands of the luxurious and effeminate court and was fixed in those of the Taira and Minamoto generals.

Feuds among these rival military clans followed almost as a matter of course. In 1185 the Taira were nearly annihilated in battles by land and sea. Yoritomo, the head of the victorious Minamoto party, became generalissimo of all the armies of Japan. Professing to reform the administration of the empire, he influenced the Court to appoint *a military with a civil governor in each province*. He fixed the military capital at Kamakura, about twenty miles from the site of modern Tōkiō (Yedo), whence he professed to execute only military duties, leaving the civil power vested in the Court at Kiōto. The sequel is easily seen. Such a division of power soon ceases to be a "balance." The military pan of the scale has a tendency to gain, and the civil to lose, weight.

Yoritomo, while professing reverent obedience to the mikado, in reality overawed him. In 1192 the title of *Sei-i Tai Shōgun*, or Barbarian-subjugating Great General, was created, and conferred upon Yoritomo. The severance of the military and civil power of the government became in a few years complete. The shōgun was ever a vassal to the mikado, but the vassal wielded the real arm of power. Nevertheless, the ancient prestige still remained as it ever has, in the person of the mikado. As the divinely descended emperor, he alone could confer honor and power. No act of the shōgun could be legal unless ratified by him. At best he was but a soldier, and far inferior to the kugé or court noble, not allowed to look upon the mikado's face, and not even the first of his Majesty's subjects. The military chieftain whosoever that could possess himself of the mikado's person, thereby legalized his own acts and gained the support of the people even against the shōgun, who in the days of his greatest power dared not usurp the

sacred throne. In all Japanese history there is no instance of any attempt made by a man of plebeian blood to become mikado. During all the vicissitudes of the rise and wane of the mikado's measure of actual power, the reverence of the people for the "Son of Heaven" never diminished. The "throne" and the "camp" were the terms applied to the respective seats of the two rulers. The military government or shōgunate was known as the *bakufu* (a Chinese word from *baku*, a curtain, *fu*, government, referring to the fact, that in ancient China, as in Japan, a general's tent was surrounded by a curtain). The name of the ante-shōgunal era, when the mikado wielded actual civil and military power, was *Ōsei*, imperial government, or monarchy.

Yoritomo's acts were in reality the culmination of a long series of usurpations. Under the plea of military necessity he had become an arch-usurper. From the period 1184–1199 A. D. begins that dual system of government which has been the political puzzle of the world, which neither Kaempfer nor the Deshima Hollanders nor the Portuguese Jesuits seem ever to have fully understood, which has filled our cyclopædias and school-books with the misleading nonsense about "two emperors," one "spiritual" and the other "secular," which led the astute Perry and his successors to make treaties with an underling, which gave rise to a vast mass of what is now very amusing reading, embracing both prophecy, fiction, and lamentations, in the Diplomatic Correspondence from Japan, and which keeps alive the drivel and solecism heard among a few Rip Van Winkles in Japan, who talk both in Japanese and English about the "return of the tycoon to power." There never was but one emperor in Japan, the shōgun was a military usurper, and the bombastic title "Tycoon" a diplomatic fraud.

The usurpation begun by Yoritomo was continued after the extinction of his line in the third generation (1219 A. D.) by the Hōjō family, a race of august wire-pullers whose puppets were babes and children of Fujiwara blood borrowed from Kiōto. These boys were given the semblance of power, sprinkled with titles, and deposed as soon as they grew old enough to be troublesome. After 114 years, the Hōjō were, in 1333,

overthrown by Nitta Yoshisada and other generals, who fought in the name of the emperor to do away with the already hated dual system. The bakufu was abolished, but unfortunately the restored mikado, long unused to government, was but poorly fitted to improve the opportunity, and wield imperial power. After two years, one of his generals, using the favorite flimsy pretext that he had not been properly rewarded, seized again the military power which the feeble "Son of Heaven" could not wield, and established himself in the old stronghold of Kamakura. The bakufu was restored, and Japan again had two capitals, rulers, and centres of authority. The possession of the shōgunate now came to be looked upon as hereditary in the family of Ashikaga, the usurping general, which, however, could never keep the entire empire under control.

For two centuries the country was in a state of chronic civil war, during which the feudal system was being perfected. The term *daimiō* (great name), applied to territorial princes who held lands in feudal tenure, in distinction from that of kugé, or court nobles of Kiōto, came into use during this period. The whole country was divided up among these petty rulers, who subdivided them among their retainers. Each strove for land and power. Might became the law of the land. As in Europe's feudal ages, the rule of the soldier was the rule of the robber. Learning and the arts, except that of the armorers, languished. The people were ignorant. The fields were untilled. Regular living became an impossibility. The warrior scorned letters. The priest was the only scribe, the monastery the only school. The merchant, lowest in the social scale, was the analogue of the Court Jew of European history and fiction. Not content with supreme intellectual domination, abbot and monk swayed the fortunes of war by influencing their devotees to take up arms on either side, or by themselves in armor leading the armies in their pay. The friend or favorite of the monasteries was ever the victor. In 1570 Nobunaga rose above the swarm of petty chieftains, struck down the power of the Buddhist priesthood, overthrew the Ashikaga shōgunate, and reduced to vassal submission more than half of the daimiōs. He became Nai dai jin, or Household Prime Minister, and ruled in the name of the mikado, but was never shōgun.

At his death in 1582 his captain, Hideyoshi (Taiko Sama), brought to nearer completion the pacification of the country, and then undertook the invasion of Corea, — an enterprise which opened brilliantly, but ended in nothing. He was never made shōgun, and died in 1598.

The greatest character in Japanese history now appeared on the scene. His abilities were transcendent as warrior, legislator, and executor. At the decisive battle of Sekigahara he completed the unification of the country and reduced or conciliated every daimiō to submission. Under his successors the perfection of the feudal system and the permanent separation of the throne and the camp were established. With characteristic foresight he made Yedo, then a mere village, his capital. Within half a century it grew to be a city with a half-million souls. The name of this man, who was invested with the title of shōgun in 1704, was Tokugawa Iyeyasū. The daimiōs or territorial princes were compelled to take up their half-yearly residence in Yedo, and never to remove their wives and children from the capital. The custom of the shōguns visiting the mikado to do him homage, though rigidly observed at first, soon fell into desuetude. The iron-handed rule of the great commander at Yedo was felt all over the empire, and after centuries of civil war the land had perfect peace. Learning flourished, the arts prospered. So perfect was the political machinery of the Yedo government, that the influence of the emperor and Imperial Court at Kiōto became little more than a shadow. The kugé or court nobles were men in whom ran the blood of the gods. Of the same descent as the Son of Heaven, they had been anciently vassal princes, holding their lands in feud of the emperor. After the adoption of the Chinese political system, they composed the Imperial Court, and filled the highest offices near the emperor's person. They were still allowed to keep their empty titles, while the bakufu took the power and revenues. They lived in comparative poverty, yet the eye of their pride was never dimmed. The lowest of them was far above the august parvenu and his brood of low-born vassals at Yedo. To all students of history the poverty of these dispossessed kugé was more honorable than all the glitter of the shōgun's train, or the wealth of the richest daimiō's mansion.

The dwellings of the two rulers at Yedo and Kiōto, of the domineering general and the overawed emperor, were typical of their positions. The mikado dwelt unguarded in a mansion surrounded by gardens enclosed within a plaster wall in a city which was the chosen centre of nobles of simple life, highest rank and purest blood, men of letters, students, and priests, and noted for its classic history and sacred associations, monasteries, gardens, and people of courtly manners and gentle life. The shōgun lived in a fortified and garrisoned castle, overlooking an upstart city full of arsenals, vassal princes, and military retainers. The feelings of the people found truest expression in the maxim, "The shōgun all men fear, the mikado all men love."

The successors of Iyeyasū, carrying out his policy, having exterminated the "corrupt sect" (Christianity), swept all foreigners out of the empire, bolted its sea-barred gates, and proceeded to devise and execute measures to eliminate all disturbing causes, and fix in eternal stability the peaceful conditions which were the fruit of the toils of his arduous life. They deliberately attempted to prevent Chronos from devouring his children.

According to their scheme the intellect of the nation was to be bounded by the Great Wall of the Chinese classics, while to the hierarchy of Buddhism—one of the most potent engines ever devised for crushing and keeping crushed the intellect of the Asiatic masses—was given the ample encouragement of government example and patronage. An embargo was laid upon all foreign ideas. Edicts commanded the destruction of all boats built upon a foreign model, and forbade the building of vessels of any size or shape superior to that of a junk. Death was the penalty of believing in Christianity, of travelling abroad, of studying foreign languages, of introducing foreign customs. Before the august train of the shōgun men must seal their upper windows, and bow their faces to the earth. Even to his tea-jars and cooking-pots the populace must do obeisance with face in the dust. To study ancient history, which might expose the origin of the shōgunate, was forbidden to the vulgar, and discouraged among the higher. A rigid censorship dried the life-blood of many a noble spirit, while

the manufacture and concoction of false and garbled histories which extolled the reigning dynasty, or glorified the dual system of government as the best and only one for Japan, were encouraged. There were not wanting poets, fawning flatterers, and even historians, who in their effusions styled the august usurper the *Ō-gimi* (Chinese tai-kun, or "tycoon"), a term meaning Great Prince or Exalted Ruler, and properly applied only to the mikado. The blunders, cruelties, and oppressions of the Tokugawa rulers were, in popular fiction and drama, removed from the present and depicted in plots laid in the time of the Ashikagas, — a period which seems to be the limbo of vanity for all native writers and dramatists, — and the true names changed. The most perfect system of espionage and repression ever devised was elaborated to fetter all men in helpless subjection to the great usurper. An incredibly large army of spies was kept in the pay of the government. Within such a hedge, the government itself being a colossal fraud, rapidly grew and flourished public and private habits of lying, and deceit in all its forms, until the love of a lie apparently for its own sake became a national habit. When foreigners arrived in the Land of the Gods during the decade following Perry's arrival, they concluded that the lying which was everywhere persistently carried on in the government and by private persons with such marvellous facility and unique originality was a primal characteristic of Japanese human nature. The necessity of hoodwinking the prying eyes of the foreigners, lest they should discover the fountain of authority, and the true relation of the shōgun, gave rise to the use of official deception that seemed as variegated as a kaleidoscope and as regular as the laws of nature. Of the two hundred and fifty or more daimiōs, the majority who had received lands and titles from the shōgun believed their allegiance to be forever due to him, instead of to the mikado, — a belief stigmatized as rank treason by the students of history. As for the common people, the great mass of them forgot, or never knew, that the emperor had ever held power or governed his people; and being officially taught to believe him to be a divine personage, supposed he had lived thus from time immemorial. Knowing only of the troubled war times before the "great and good" Tokuga-

was, they believed devoutly in the infallibility, paternal benevolence, and divine right of the Tokugawas.

The line of shōguns, founded by Iyeyasū, was the last that held or ever will hold the military power in Japan. To them the Japanese people owe the blessing of nearly two hundred and seventy years of peace. Under their firm rule the dual form of government seemed fixed on a basis unchangeable, and the feudal system in eternal stability. There did not exist, nor was it possible there should arise, causes such as undermined the feudalism of Europe. The eight classes of the people were kept contented and happy. A fertile soil and genial clime gave food in unstinted profusion, and thus was removed a cause which is a chronic source of insurrection in portions of China. As there was no commerce, there was no vast wealth to be accumulated, nor could the mind of the merchant expand to a limit dangerous to despotism by fertilizing contact with foreigners. All learning and education, properly so called, were confined to the *samurai*, to whom also belonged the sword and privilege. The perfection of the governmental machinery at Yedo kept, as was the design, the daimiōs poor and at jealous variance with each other, and rendered it impossible for them to combine their power. No two of them ever were allowed to meet in private or to visit each other without spies. The vast army of eighty thousand retainers of the Tokugawa family, backed by the following of some of the richest clans, such as Mito, Kishiu, Owari, Echizen, who were near relatives of the shōgunal family, together with the vast resources in income and accumulation, made it appear, as many believed, that the overthrow of the Tokugawas, or the bakufu, or the feudal system, was a moral impossibility.

Yet all these fell to ruin in the space of a few months! The bakufu is now a shadow of the past. The Tokugawas, once princes and the gentry of the land, whose hands never touched other tools than pen and sword, now live in obscurity or poverty, and by thousands keep soul and body together by picking tea, making paper, or digging the mud of rice-fields like the laborers they once despised. Their ancestral tombs at Kuno, Shiba, Uyenō, and Nikkō, once the most sacred and magnificently adorned of Japanese places of honor, are now

dilapidating in unarrested neglect, dishonor, and decay. The feudal system, at the touch of a few daring parvenus, crumbled to dust like the undisturbed tenants of catacombs when suddenly touched or exposed to the light of day. Two hundred and fifty princes, resigning lands, retainers, and incomes, retired to private life in Tōkiō at the bidding of their former servants, acting in the name of the mikado. They are now quietly waiting to die. They are the “dead facts stranded on the shores of the oblivious years.”

What were the causes of these three distinct results? When began the first gathering of the waters which burst into flood in 1868, sweeping away the landmarks of centuries, floating the old ship of state into power, impelling it, manned with new men and new machinery, into the stream of modern thought, as though Noah's ark had been equipped with engines, steam, and propellers? To understand the movement, we must know the currents of thought, and the men who produced the ideas.

There were formerly many classes of people in Japan, but only two of these were students and thinkers. The first comprised the priests, who brought into existence that mass of Japanese Buddhistic literature, and originated and developed those phases of Buddhism peculiar to Japan, which have made Japanese Buddhism a distinct product of thought and life among the manifold developments of this, the most widely professed religion in the world. This intellectual activity and ecclesiastical growth culminated in the sixteenth century. Since that time Japanese thought has been led by the *samurai*, — the military-literati, or secularly educated and armed classes. The priests of Shintō, a less numerous and active body of men, may be included among the samurai. The secular intellectual activity of Japan attained its highest point during the latter part of the last and the first quarter of the present century. Even as far back as the seventeenth century, the students of ancient history began to understand clearly the true nature of the duarchy, and to see that the shōgunate was a military usurpation, which could exist only while the people were kept in ignorance. The province of Mito was especially noted for the activity of its scholars, and in it was produced that historical

classic which has had so powerful an influence in forming the public opinion which now upholds the mikado's throne. The second prince of Mito, who was born 1622, and died 1700, is to be considered, as was first pointed out by Mr. Ernest Satow, as "the real author of the movement which culminated in the revolution of 1868." Assembling around him a host of scholars from all parts of Japan, he began the composition of the *Dai Nihon Shi*, or History of Japan. It is written in classic Chinese, and fills two hundred and forty-three volumes, or matter equal to Mr. Bancroft's History of the United States. It was finished in 1715, and immediately became a classic. Though diligently studied, it remained in manuscript, copied from hand to hand by eager students, until 1851, when the wide demand for it induced its publication in print. The tendency of this book, as of most of the many publications of Mito, was to direct the minds of the people to the mikado as the true and only source of authority, and to point out the historical fact that the shōgun was a military usurper. Mito, being a near relative of the house of Tokugawa, was allowed greater liberty in stating his views than could have been granted to any other person. The work begun by Mito was followed up by the famous scholar Rai Sanyo, who in 1827, after twenty years of continuous labor, completed his *Nihon Guai Shi*, External History of Japan, in which he gives the history of each of the military families, Taira, Minamoto, Hōjō, Ashikaga, etc., who held the governing power from the period of the decadence of the mikados. This work had to pass the ordeal of the censorate at Yedo, and some of the volumes were repeatedly purged by the censors before they were allowed to be published. The unmistakable animus of this great work is to show that the mikado is the only true ruler, in whom is the fountain of power, and to whom the allegiance of every Japanese is due, and that even the Tokugawas were not free from the guilt of usurpation.

The long peace of two centuries gave earnest patriots time to think. Though the great body of the people, both the governing and the governed classes, enervated by prolonged prosperity and absence of danger, cared for none of these things, the serious students burned to see the mikado again

restored to his ancient authority. This motive alone would have caused revolution in due time. They felt that Japan had retrograded, that the military arts had sunk into neglect, that the war spirit slumbered. Yet on all sides the "greedy foreigners" were eying the Holy Country. Already the ocean was a highway for wheeled vessels. The long scarfs of coal-smoke were becoming daily matters of familiar ugliness and prognostics of doom. The steam-whistle heard by the junk sailors—as potent as the rams' horns of old—had already thrown down their walls of exclusion. The "black ships" of the "barbarians" passing Matsumaë in one year numbered eighty-six. Russia on the north was descending upon Saghalin; the English, French, Dutch, and Americans were pressing their claims for trade and commerce. The bakufu was idle, making few or no preparations to resist the fierce barbarians. Far-sighted men saw that in presence of foreigners a collision between the two centres of government, Yedo and Kiōto, would be immediate as it was inevitable. When it should come, in the nature of the case, the shōgunate must fall. The samurai would adhere to the mikado's side, and the destruction of the feudal system would follow as a logical necessity. It was the time of luxury, carousal, and the stupor of licentious carnival with most of the daimiōs, with others of gloomy forebodings.

Another current of thought was flowing in the direction of a restored mikadoate. It may be called the revival of the study of Pure Shintō, and in examining the causes of the recent revolution cannot be overlooked. Shintō is claimed to be the original and indigenous religion of the Japanese. The introduction of Buddhism and Chinese philosophy greatly modified or "corrupted" the ancient faith. A school of modern writers have attempted to purge modern Shintō and present it in its original form.

According to this religion Japan is pre-eminently the Land of the Gods, and the mikado is their Divine Representative and Vicegerent. Hence the duty of all Japanese implicitly to obey him. During the long reign of the shōguns, and of Buddhism, which they favored and professed, few indeed knew what pure Shintō was. Its Bible is the Kojiki, compiled A. D. 712. Several other works such as the Nihongi, Manyoshu, are

nearly as old, and as valuable in the eyes of Shintō scholars as the Kojiki. They are written in ancient Japanese, and can be read only by special students of the archaic form of the language. The development of a taste for the study of the ancient native literature and that of history were nearly synchronous. The neglect of pure Japanese learning for that of Chinese had been almost universal, until Keichiu, Kada, and other scholars revived its critical study. The bakufu discouraged all such investigation, while the mikado and Court at Kiōto lent it all their aid, both moral and, as it is said, pecuniary. Mabuchi (1697–1769) and Motoōri (1730–1801), Hirata, (1776–1843), each successively the pupil of the other, are the greatest lights of Pure Shintō; and their writings, which are devoted to cosmogony, ancient history, and language, the true position of the mikado and the Shintō cultus, exerted a lively influence at Kiōto, in Mito, in Echizen, Satsuma, and in many other provinces, where a political party was already forming with the intention of accomplishing the abolition of the bakufu and a return to the Ōsei era. The necessary result of the study of Shintō was an increase of reverence for the mikado. Buddhism, Chinese influence, Confucianism, despotism, usurpation, and the bakufu were, in the eyes of a Shintōist, all one and the same. Shintō, the ancient true religion, all which a patriot could desire, good government, national purity, the golden age, and a life best explained by the conception of the “Millennium” among Christians, were synonymous with the Mikado and his return to power. The arguments of the Shintōists helped to swell the tide that came to its flood at Fushimi. Throughout, and after the war of 1868–1870, there were no more bitter partisans who urged to the last extremes of logic and severity the issues of the war and the “reformation.” It was the study of the literature produced by the Shintō scholars and the historical writers that formed the public opinion that finally overthrew the shōgunate, the bakufu, and feudalism.

Long before foreigners arrived, the seeds of revolution were above the soil. The old prince of Mito, a worthy descendant of his illustrious ancestor, tired of preaching Shintō and of persuading the shōgun to hand over his authority to the mikado, resolved in 1840 to take up arms and to try the wager of battle. To provide

the sinews of war, he seized the Buddhist monasteries, and melted down their enormous bronze bells and cast them into cannon. By prompt measures the bakufu suppressed his preparations for war, and imprisoned him for twelve years, releasing him only in the excitement consequent upon the arrival of Perry.

Meanwhile Satsuma, Chōshiu, and other Southern clans were making extensive military preparations, not merely to be in readiness to drive out the possible foreign invaders, but, as we now know, and as events proved, to reduce the shōgun to his proper level as one of many of the mikado's vassals. The ancestors of these most powerful clans had of old held equal rank and power with Iyeyasū, until the fortunes of war turned against them. They had been overcome by force or had sullenly surrendered in face of overwhelming odds. Their adhesion to the Tokugawas was but nominal, and only the strong pressure of superior power was able to wring from them a haughty semblance of obedience. They chafed perpetually under the rule of one who was in reality a vassal like themselves. On more than one occasion they openly defied and ignored the bakufu's orders; and the purpose, scarcely kept secret, of the Satsuma and Chōshiu clans was to destroy the bakufu and acknowledge no authority but that of the mikado.

From the Southern clans rose finally the voice in council, the secret plot, the *coup d'état*, and the arms in the field that wrought the purpose for which Mito labored; yet they would never have been successful had not a public sentiment existed to support them, which the historical writers had already created by their writings. The scholars could never have gratified their heart's wish, had not the sword and pen, brain and hand, — both equally mighty, — helped each other.

Notably pre-eminent among the Southern daimiōs, in personal characteristics, abilities, energy, and far-sightedness, was the Prince of Satsuma. Next to Kaga, he was the wealthiest of all the daimiōs. Had he lived, he would doubtless have led the revolutionary movement of 1868. Besides giving encouragement to all students of the ancient literature and history, he was most active in developing the material resources of his province, and in perfecting the military organization, so

that when the time should be ripe for the onslaught on the bakufu, he might have ready for the mikado the military provision to make his government a complete success. To carry out his plans he encouraged the study of the Dutch and English languages, and thus learned the modern art of war and scientific improvement. He established cannon-foundries and mills on foreign principles. He saw that something more was needed. Young men must visit foreign countries and there acquire the theory and practice of the arts of war and peace. The laws of the country forbade any subject to leave it, and the bakufu was ever on the alert to catch runaways. By a clever artifice, however, a number of the brightest young men, about twenty-seven in number, got away in one vessel to Europe, and, despite the surveillance of the Yedo officials, others followed. Among these young men were some who are now high officials of the Japanese government.

The renown of this prince extended all over the empire, and numbers of young men from all parts of the country flocked to be his pupils or students. Kagoshima, his capital, became a centre of busy manual industry and intellectual activity. Keeping pace with the intense energy of mind and hand was the growing sentiment that the days of the bakufu were numbered, that its fall was certain, and that the only fountain of authority was the mikado. The Satsuma samurai and students all looked to the prince as the man for the coming crisis, when, to the inexpressible grief of all, he sickened and died. No master ever left more worthy pupils, and those most trusted and trusting were Saigō and Ōkubo, Yamaguchi and Katsū. The mention of these names calls up to a native the most stirring memories of the war. Saigō became the leader of the mikado's army. Ōkubo, the implacable enemy of the bakufu, was the master-spirit in council, and the power behind the throne which urged the movement to its logical consequences. At this moment, the annihilator of the Saga rebellion, crowned with diplomatic laurels, and the conqueror of a peace at Peking, he stands leader of the cabinet and the foremost man in Japan. Katsū, though the shōgun's general, advised his master from first to last to resign his position, and thus saved Yedo from destruction. The lesser men of note,

pupils of Satsuma, who now hold positions of trust or who have become disinterested Cincinnati to show their patriotism, are too many to mention.

Familiarity with the facts above exposed will enable one to understand the rush of events that followed the arrival of the American envoy. The bakufu was apparently at the acme of power. The shōgun Iyeyoshi at Yedo was *fainéant*. The mikado at Kiōto, Komei Tennō, father of the present emperor, was a man who understood well his true position, hated the bakufu as a nest of robbers, and all foreigners as unclean beasts. Within the empire, all was ripe for revolution. Beneath the portentous calm, those who would listen could hear the rumble of the political earthquake. From without came puffs of news like atmospheric pulses portending a cyclone. On that 7th day of July, 1853, the natural sea and sky wearing perfect calm, the magnificent fleet of the "barbarian" ships sailed up the bay of Yedo. It was the outer edge of the tai-fun. The Susquehanna was leading the squadrons of seventeen nations.

There was one spectator upon the bluffs at Yokohama who was persuaded in his own mind that the men who could build such ships as those could not be barbarians. If they were, it were better for the Japanese to become barbarous. That man was Katsū, now the Secretary of the Japanese Navy.

The barbarian envoy was a strange creature. He was told to leave the bay of Yedo and go to Nagasaki. He impolitely refused, and stayed and surveyed and was dignified. This was anomalous. Other barbarians had not acted so; they had quietly obeyed orders. Furthermore, he brought letters and presents, all directed "TO THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN." The shōgun was not emperor, but he must make believe to be so. It would not do to call himself the mikado's general only (shōgun). This title awed sufficiently at home, but would the strangers respect it? A pedantic professor in the Chinese college was sent to treat with the barbarian Perry. A chopper of Chinese logic, and a stickler for exact terms, the pedant must, as in duty bound, exalt his master. He may have coined purposely, or have suggested only, but as a matter of

unquestionable fact he did allow to be used in the treaties the title *tai-kun*, a purely Chinese word, meaning "Great Sovereign," or "Exalted Ruler," and which in those official documents signified that he was the supreme ruler of all Japan. This title had never been bestowed upon the shōgun by the mikado, nor had it ever been used in native official documents. The bakufu and the pedantic professor Hayashi did not mean to lie to the true sovereign in Kiōto. The bakufu, like a frog, whose belly is white, whose back is black, could look both ways, and present two fronts. Seen from Kiōto, the lie was white, that is, "meant nothing." Looked at by those unsuspecting dupes, the barbarians, it was black, that is, "The August Sovereign of Japan," *vide* the preamble of the Perry treaty. Yet to the jealous emperor and court this white lie was, as ever white lies are, the blackest of lies. It created the greatest uneasiness and alarm. The shōgun had no shadow of right to this bombastic figment of authority.

It was a new illustration in diplomacy of Esop's Fable No. 26. The great Yedo frog puffed itself to its utmost to equal the Kiōto ox, and it burst in the attempt. The carcass of this batrachian in diplomacy was buried in Shidzūōka, a city ninety-five miles southwest of Tōkiō, in 1869. The writer visited this ancient home of the Tokugawas in 1872, and in a building within a mile of the actual presence of the last "Tycoon," who is still living, and within shouting distance of thousands of his ex-retainers, saw scores of the presents brought by Commodore Perry lying, many of them, in mildew, rust, or neglect. They were all labelled "Presented by the ——— of the United States to the EMPEROR OF JAPAN." Yet the mikado never saw them. The Japanese excel at a gibe, but when did they perpetrate a sarcasm so huge? The mikado's government had allowed the "Tycoon" to keep the presents with the labels on them!!

We may fairly infer that so consummate a diplomatist as Perry, had he understood the true state of affairs, would have gone with his fleet to Ōzaka, and opened negotiations with the mikado, instead of with his lieutenant at Yedo. Perhaps he never knew that he had treated with an underling.

The immediate results of the opening of the ports to for-

eign commerce in 1859 were the disarrangement of the prices of the necessities of life, and almost universal distress consequent thereon, much sickness and mortality from the importation of foreign diseases, to which was added an exceptional succession of destructive earthquakes, tai-funs, floods, fires, and storms. In the midst of these calamities the shōgun Iyesada died.

An heir must be chosen. His selection devolved upon the *tairo*, or regent, Ii, a man of great ability, daring, and, as his enemies say, of unscrupulous villany. Ii, though socially of low rank, possessed almost supreme power. Ignoring the popular choice of Hitotsūbashi (now in Shidzūōka), he chose the Prince of Kishiu, a boy of twelve years of age. In answer to the indignant protests of the princes of Mito, Echizen, and Owari, he shut them up in prison, and thus alienated from his support the near relatives of the house of Tokugawa. At the same time all who opposed him or the bakufu, or who agitated the restoration of the mikado, he impoverished, imprisoned, exiled, or beheaded. Among his victims were many noble scholars and patriots.

The mikado being by right the supreme ruler, and the shōgun merely a vassal, no treaty with foreigners could be binding unless signed by the mikado.

The shōgun or his ministers had no right whatever to sign the treaties. Here was a dilemma. The foreigners were pressing the ratification of the treaties on the bakufu, while the mikado and court as vigorously refused their consent. Ii was not a man to hesitate. As the native chronicler writes: "He began to think that if, in the presence of these constant arrivals of foreigners of different nations, he were to wait for the Kiōto people to make up their minds, some unlucky accident might bring the same disasters upon Japan as China had already experienced. He therefore concluded a treaty at Kanagawa, and affixed his seal to it, after which he reported the transaction to Kiōto."

This signature to the treaties without the mikado's consent stirred up intense indignation at Kiōto and throughout the country, which from one end to the other now resounded with the cry, "Honor the mikado and expel the barbarian." In

the eyes of patriots the regent was a traitor. His act gave the enemies of the bakufu a legal pretext of enmity, and was the signal of the regent's doom. All over the country thousands of patriots left their homes, declaring their intention not to return to them until the mikado, restored to power, should sweep away the barbarians. Boiling over with patriotism, bands of assassins, called *rōnins* ("wave-men," or retainers who had left the service of their lords), roamed the country ready to slay foreigners, or the regent, and to die for the mikado. On the 23d of March Ii was assassinated in Yedo, outside the Sakurada gate of the castle, near the spot where now stand the offices of the Departments of War and Foreign Affairs, and the Gothic brick buildings of the Imperial College of Engineering. Then followed the slaughter of foreigners, and the burning of their legations, the object in nearly every case being to embroil the bakufu with foreign powers, and thus hasten its fall. Some of these amateur incendiaries and assassins are now high officials in the mikado's government.

The prestige of the bakufu declined daily, and the tide of influence and power set in steadily toward the true capital. The custom of the shōgun's visiting Kiōto, and doing homage to the mikado, was revived, which caused his true relation to be clearly understood even by the common people. The Prince of Echizen, by a special and unprecedented act of the bakufu, was made premier. By his own act, as many believe, though he was most probably only the cat's-paw of the Southern daimiōs, he abolished the custom of the daimiōs' forced residence in Yedo. Like wild birds from an opened cage, they with all their retainers fled from the city in less than a week. Yedo's glory faded like a dream, and the power and greatness of the Tokugawas came to naught. Few of the clans obeyed any longer the command of the bakufu, and gradually the hearts of the people fell away. "And so," says the native chronicler, "the prestige of the Tokugawa family, which had endured for three hundred years, which had been really more brilliant than Kamakura in the age of Yoritomo on a moonlight night when the stars are shining, which for more than two hundred and seventy years had forced the daimiōs to come breathlessly to take their turn of duty in Yedo, and which had day

and night eighty thousand vassals at its beck and call, fell to ruin in the space of one morning."

The clans now gathered at the true *miako* (capital) of Japan, ending their allegiance to the bakufu, and acting either according to their own will or at the bidding of the mikado's court. Hatred of the foreigner, and a desire to fill their empty coffers with the proceeds of commerce with them, swayed their minds like the wind among reeds. A war of pamphlets ensued, some writers attempting to show that the clans owed allegiance to the bakufu. Others condemned the idea as treasonable, proving the mikado to be the sole sovereign. The bakufu, acting upon the pressure of public opinion in Kiōto, and in hopes of restoring its prestige, bent all its efforts to close the ports and persuade the foreigners to leave Japan. The mikado, urged by the clamorous braves, and by kugé who had never seen one of "the hairy foreigners," nor dreamed of their power, issued an order for their expulsion from Japan. The Chōshiu men, the first to act, erected batteries at Shimonoséki. The bakufu, which was responsible to foreigners, commanded the clan to disarm. They refused, and fired on foreign vessels. They obeyed the mikado, and disobeyed the shōgun. The bakufu permitted and even requested the foreigners to bombard the town. The fort was demolished, the guns dismantled or carried off, the gunners killed, and the town fired. The generous victors extorted an "indemnity" of three million Mexican dollars. The bakufu having demanded a suitable apology from the clan, and this being refused, determined upon chastisement, to set an example to the wavering clans, and thus give proof of the power it still possessed.

Then was revealed the result of the long previous preparation in the South for war. The Chōshiu clansmen, united and alert, were lightly dressed, armed with English and American rifles, abundantly provided with artillery, which they fired rapidly and with precision, and drilled in European fashion. They had cast away armor, sword, and spear. Chōshiu had long been a seat of Dutch learning, and translations of Dutch military works were numerous made and used there. The bakufu had but a motley, half-hearted army. The most influ-

ential clans declined, or refused outright to join the expedition, whose purpose was condemned by almost all the wisest leaders, notably by Katsū, the shōgun's adviser. A campaign of a few months ended in the utter and disgraceful defeat of the bakufu and the triumph of Chōshiu. The prestige of the shōgunate was now irretrievably ruined.

The young shōgun died and was succeeded by Hitotsūbashi, who had repeatedly declined the position. He brought to it numerous private virtues, but only the firmness of a feather for the crisis at hand. The average Japanese lacks the stolidity and obstinacy of the Chinaman, and fickleness is supposed to be his chief characteristic. Hitotsūbashi, however, was fickleness personified. If with the help of counsellors he could make up his mind to one course of action, the keenest observers could never forecast the change liable to ensue when new advisers were present. It is evident that the appointment of such a man in such a crisis served only to precipitate the issue.

The Prince of Tosa now openly urged the new shōgun to resign his power, while the counsellors of the former persistently demanded the formation of the government on the basis of the ante-shōgun era prior to 1200 A. D. On the 19th of November, 1867, the vacillating Hitotsūbashi, yielding to the force of public opinion, tendered his resignation. This was a long step toward the ancient régime. Yet, as in Japan, whichever party or leader has possession of the mikado is master of the situation, and as the Aidzu clan, the most stanchly loyal to the Tokugawa family, kept guard at the gates of the imperial palace, it was still uncertain where the actual power would reside, — whether in the Tokugawa clan, in the council of daimiōs, or, where it rightfully belonged, with the Imperial Court.

The clans of Satsuma, Chōshiu, and Tosa were determined not to let the question hang in suspense. Saigō and Ōkubo of Satsuma, Kido of Chōshiu, Gotō of Tosa, and Iwakura, a kugé, were too much in earnest to let the supreme opportunity slip. They began to stir up the court to take advantage of the critical moment, and by a bold *coup d'état* abolish the office of shōgun and the bakufu, re-establish the government on the

ancient basis, with the mikado as sole ruler, and rely on the Southern and some of the Western clans, and the public opinion already formed, to carry out the measure. The four men named above were the chief actors in the conspiracy which was executed on the 3d of January, 1868. An edict was issued in the name of the mikado, which stated that the government of the country was now solely in the hands of the Imperial Court. The bakufu and office of shōgun were abolished. A provisional government, with three grades of office, was formed, and the positions were at once filled by men loyal to the new rulers. The Aizu clansmen were immediately dismissed from the guardianship of the palace gates, and the troops of the Southerners took their places; whereupon the indignation of the retainers of Tokugawa knew no bounds. The vacillating shōgun now regretted his resignation, and wished himself back in power. He left Kiōto with the clans still loyal to him, with the professed intention of calming the passions of his followers, but in reality of seizing Ōzaka and blocking up the communication of the Southerners. He yielded to the persuasions of his retainers to re-enter Kiōto in force, and drive out the "bad counsellors of the young emperor." He was forbidden by the court to approach the city with a military following. Barriers were erected across the two roads leading to the capital, and the Southern clansmen, numbering about two thousand, posted themselves behind them with artillery. Hitotsūbashi set out on the evening of the 27th of February, with the Aizu and Kuwana clans in the front of his following, amounting to over ten thousand men. At Fushimi, a suburb of Kiōto, his messengers were refused passage through the barriers. The Kiōto forces fired their cannon, and the war was opened.

The battle lasted three days. In the presence of overwhelming forces, the Southern samurai showed not only undaunted valor, but the result of previous years of military training. The battle was not to the strong. It was to the side of intelligence, energy, coolness, and valor. The shōgun's army was beaten, and in wild disorder fled to Ōzaka. The chief found refuge upon an American vessel, and reaching Yedo sought the seclusion of his castle. His own family retainers and most

of the subject clans (*fudai*) and the *daimiōs* of Aidzu, Sendai, and others of the North and East, urged him to renew the fight and restore his prestige. With a large army, arsenals, munitions of war and fleet of ships vastly exceeding those of the mikado, his chances of success were very fair. But this time the vassal was loyal, the waverer wavered no more. Refusing to listen to those who advised war, he hearkened to the counsel of his two highest ministers, Katsū and Okubo Ichio, and declaring that he would never take up arms against his lord, the mikado, he retired to private life. Katsū, the old pupil of Satsuma and comrade of Saigō, had long foreseen that the governing power must and ought of right to revert to the mikado, and braving odium and assassination he advised his master to resign. At this moment the victorious Southerners, led by Saigō, were in the southern suburb of Yedo, waiting to attack the city. To reduce a Japanese city needs but a torch, and the impatient victors would have left little but ashes had there been resistance. Katsū, meeting Saigō, assured him of the submissive temper of the shōgun, and begged him to spare the city. It was done. The fanatical retainers of Hitotsūbashi made the temple grounds of Uyeno their stronghold. On the 4th of July they were attacked and routed. The theatre of war was then transferred to the highlands of Aidzu and thence to Hakodate in Yezo. Victory everywhere perched upon the mikado's brocade banner.

The mikado's party was composed of the heterogeneous elements which a revolution usually brings forth. Side by side with high-souled patriots were disreputable vagrants and scoundrels of every description, *rōnins* or low two-sworded men, *jō-i*, or "foreigner-haters," "port-closers," and Shintō priests and students. There were a few earnest men whose darling hope was to see a representative government established, while fewer yet eagerly wished Japan to adopt the civilization of the West and join the brotherhood of nations. The object common to all was the exaltation of the mikado. The bond of union which held the majority together was a determination to expel the foreigners or to revise the treaties so as to expunge the odious extra-territoriality clause, — the thorn that still rankles in the side of every Japanese patriot. For eighteen months the

energies of the *jō-i* or "foreigner-haters" were utilized in the camp in fighting the rebellious Tokugawa retainers. The war over, the trials of the new government began. The low, two-sworded men clamored for the fulfilment of the promise that the foreigners should be expelled. The Shintō officials induced the government to persecute the native "Christians," demanded the abolition of Buddhism, the establishment of Shintō by edict, and the restoration of the government on a purely theocratic basis, and echoed the cry of "expel the barbarian." Even with the majority of the high officials there was no abandonment of the purpose to expel foreigners. They intended to do it, but the wisest of them knew that in their present condition they were not able. Hence they simply wished to bide their time, and gain strength. It was a matter of difficulty to keep patient thousands of swaggering braves whose only tools for earning bread were their swords. The first attention was given to reorganizing a national army and to developing the military resources of the empire. All this was done with the cherished end in view of driving out the aliens, closing the ports of commerce, and bringing back the days of dictatorial isolation. The desire for foreign civilization existed rather among the adherents of the shōgun, among whom were many who had been to Europe and America, and who wished their country to take advantage of the inventions of the foreigners. Yet many of those very men who wished the foreigners expelled, the ports closed, the treaties repudiated, who were *jō-i*, or "foreigner-haters," and who considered all aliens as only a few degrees above the level of beasts, are now members of the mikado's government, the exponents of advanced ideas, the defenders and executors of philo-Europeanism, or Western civilization.

What caused the change that came over the spirit of their dreams? Why do they now preach the faith they once destroyed? "It was the lessons taught them at Shimonoseki," say some. "It was the benefits they saw would arise from commerce," say others.

Cannon-balls, commerce, and actual contact with foreigners doubtless helped the scales to fall from their eyes, but these were helps only. All such means had failed in China, though

tried for half a century. They would have failed in Japan also. It was *an impulse from within* that urged the Japanese to join the comity of nations. The noblest trait in the Japanese character is his willingness to change for the better when he discovers his wrong or inferiority. This led the leaders to preach the faith they once destroyed, to destroy the faith they once preached.

The great work of enlightening the mikado's followers was begun by the Japanese leaders, Ōkubo, Kido, Gotō, — all of them students, both of the ancient native literature and of foreign ideas. It was finished by Japanese writers. The kugé, or court nobles, wished to ignore the existence of foreigners, drive them out of the country, or worry them by appointing officers of low rank in the Foreign office, — then an inferior sub-bureau. Ōkubo, Gotō, and Kido promptly opposed the plan, and sent a prince of the imperial blood to Hiōgo to give the mikado's consent to the treaties, and to invite the foreign ministers to an audience with the emperor in Kiōto. In a memorial to the mikado, Ōkubo further gave expression to his ideas in a memorial that astounded the court and the wavering daimiōs as follows: "Since the Middle Ages our emperor has lived behind a screen, and has never trodden the earth. Nothing of what went on outside his screen ever penetrated his sacred ear; the imperial residence was profoundly secluded and naturally unlike the outer world. Not more than a few court nobles were allowed to approach the throne, — a practice most opposed to the principles of Heaven. Although it is the first duty of man to respect his superior, if he reveres that superior too highly he neglects his duty, while a breach is created between the sovereign and his subjects, who are unable to convey their wants to him. This vicious practice has been common in all ages. But now let pompous etiquette be done away with, and simplicity become our first object. Kiōto is in an out-of-the-way position and is unfit to be the seat of government. Let his Majesty take up his abode temporarily at Ōzaka, removing his capital hither, and thus cure one of the hundred abuses which we inherit from past ages."

The memorial produced an immediate and lively effect upon the court. The mikado came in person to the meetings of the

council of state, and before the court nobles and daimiōs took an oath, as an actual ruler, promising that "a deliberative assembly should be formed, all measures be decided by public opinion, the uncivilized customs of former times should be broken through, and the impartiality and justice displayed in the workings of nature be adopted as a basis of action; and that intellect and learning should be sought for throughout the world, in order to establish the foundations of the empire."

These promises are either the pompous bombast of a puppet, or the pregnant utterances of a sovereign, who in magnanimity and wisdom aspires to lead a nation into a higher life. That such words should in that sublime moment fall from the lips of the chief of an Oriental despotism excites our sympathetic admiration. They seem a sublime echo of affirmation to the prophetic question of the Hebrew seer, "Can a nation be born at once?" They sound like a glad harbinger of a new and higher national development, such as only those with the strongest faith in humanity believe possible to an Asiatic nation. As matter of fact, the words were uttered by a boy of sixteen years, who scarcely dreamed of the tremendous significance of the language put into his mouth by the high-souled parvenus who had made him emperor *de facto*, and who were resolved to have their ideas made the foundations of the new government. That these promises have not yet been fulfilled is matter of fact, as it has been made subject of protest by some of the framers of the oath who have waited long for their fulfilment. The result of the memorial, and the ceaseless activity of Ōkubo and his colleagues, was the ultimate removal of the government to Yedo. It is not easy for a foreigner to comprehend the profound sensation produced throughout the empire when the mikado left Kiōto to make his abode in another city. During a millennium Kiōto had been the capital of Dai Nippon, and for twenty-five centuries, according to popular belief, the mikados had ruled from some spot near the site of the sacred city. A band of fanatics religiously opposed, but in vain, his journey eastward. Yedo means "bay-door." To familiarize his people with the fact that it was now the capital, the name of Yedo was changed to Tōkiō or Eastern Capital. The name Yedo has not been used by the natives since 1868.

Then was further developed the impulse to enter the path of modern civilization. While Ōkubo, Kido, Gotō, Iwakura, Sanjō, Itagaki, Ōki, and the rising officials sought to purge and strengthen the political system, the work of enlightening the people and the upstarts raised suddenly to power was done by Japanese writers who for the first time dared without suffering death to tell their thoughts. A large measure of freedom of the press was guaranteed, newspapers sprang up in the capital. Kido, one of the prime movers and leaders, himself established one of the most vigorous, still in existence, the *Shimbun Zasshi*. The new government acted generously to the literary and scientific men among the retainers of the Tokugawas, and invited them to fill posts of honor under the government. Some of them declined until the time when even greater freedom of speech and pen was permitted. There were men who in the old days, braving odium and even death at the hands of the bakufu, had begun the study of the English and Dutch languages and to feed their minds at the Occidental fountains. They were obliged to copy their books in manuscript, so rare were printed copies. Later on, the bakufu, forced by necessity to have interpreters and men skilled in foreign arts and sciences, chose these students and sent them abroad to study. When the civil war broke out they were recalled, reaching Japan shortly after the fighting began. Then they began the preparation of those original works and translations which were eagerly read by the new men in power. Edition after edition was issued, bought, read, lent, and circulated. In these books the history of the Western nations was faithfully told, their manners and customs and beliefs were explained and defended, their resources, methods of thought and education, morals, laws, systems of government, etc., were described and elucidated. Notably pre-eminent among these writers was the schoolmaster Fukuzawa. Western ideas were texts, he clothed them in Japanese words. He further pointed out the weaknesses, defects, and errors of his countrymen, and showed how Japan by isolation, and the false pride that scorned all knowledge derived from foreigners, had failed to advance like Europe or America, and that nothing could save his country from conquest or decay but the

assimilation of the ideas which have made the foreigners what they are. There is scarcely a prominent or rising man in Japan but has read Fukuzawa's works, and gratefully acknowledges the stimulus and lasting benefit derived from them. Fukuzawa has declined every one of the many flattering offers of office and power under the government, and still devotes himself to his school and the work of teaching and translation, consuming his life in noble drudgery. He has been the interpreter of Western ideas and life, caring little about the merely external garnish and glitter of civilization. His book on "Western Manners and Customs" has had an enormous circulation.

Nakamura, also a schoolmaster, has, besides writing original tracts, translated a considerable body of English literature, John Stuart Mill's "Essay on Liberty," Smiles's "Self-Help," and a few smaller works on morals and religion, which have had large sales. His memorial on the subject of Christianity and religious liberty made a very profound impression upon the emperor and court, and gave a powerful check to the ultra-Shintōists. Mitsukuri, Kato, Nishi, Uchida, Uriu, have also done noble service as authors or translators. It is the writer's firm belief, after nearly four years of life in Japan, mingling among the progressive men of the empire, that the reading and study of books printed in the Japanese language have done more to transform the Japanese mind, and to develop an impulse in the direction of modern civilization, than any other cause or series of causes.

During the past decade the production of purely Japanese literature has almost entirely ceased. A few histories of recent events, a few war-poems and pamphlets urging the expulsion of the barbarians, were issued previous to the civil war; but since then almost the entire literary activity has been exhibited in translations, or the expression of Western ideas adapted to the understanding of the Japanese.

The war was ended by July, 1870, rewards were distributed, and the government was still further consolidated by creating definite offices and making all titles which had been hitherto empty names to have reality and power. There was still, however, much dead wood in the ship of state, a condition of chronic

strain, a dangerous amount of friction in the machinery, wrangling among the crew, and a vast freight of bad cargo that the purest patriots saw the good ship must "unload," if she was to be saved.

Furthermore, it became daily more certain that national development and peace could never be secured while the feudal system existed. The clan spirit which it fostered was fatal to national unity. So long as a Japanese meant by "my country" merely his own clan, loyalty might exist, but patriotism could not. The time seemed ripe for action. The press was busy in issuing pamphlets advocating the abolition of feudalism. Several of the great daimiōs, long before ready for it, now openly advocated the change. The lesser ones knew better than to oppose it. The four great clans Satsuma, Chōshiu, Tosa, and Hizen were the pioneers of the movement. They addressed a memorial to the throne, in which it was argued that the daimiōs' fiefs ought not to be looked on as private property, but as the mikado's own. They offered to restore the registers of their clans to the sovereign. These were the external signs of the times. Back of these, there were at least three men who were determined to sweep feudalism away utterly. They were Kido, Ōkubo, Iwakura. The first step was to abolish the appellation of court-noble (*kugé*) and territorial prince (*daimiō*), and to designate both as *kuazokū*, or noble families. The former heads of clans were temporarily appointed governors. This smoothed the way. In September, 1871, the edict went forth calling the daimiōs to Tōkiō to retire to private life. With scarcely an exception the order was quietly obeyed. The men behind the throne in Tōkiō were ready and even willing to shed blood, should their (the mikado's) commands be resisted, and they expected to do it. The daimiōs who were hostile to the measure knew too well the character of the men who framed the edict to resist it. The writer counts among the most impressive of all his life's experiences that scene in the immense castle hall of Fukui when the daimiō of Echizen bade farewell to his three thousand two-sworded retainers, and amid the tears and smiles and loving farewells of the city's populace left behind him lands, revenue, and obedient followers, and retired to live as a private gentleman in Tōkiō.

Japan's feudalism began nearly eight centuries ago, and existed until within the year 1871. It was not a tower of strength in its last days. Long before its fall it was an empty shell and a colossal sham. Feudalism is only alive and vigorous when the leaders are men of brain and action. Of all the daimiōs there were not ten of any personal importance. They were amiable nobodies, great only in stomach or silk robes. Many were sensualists, drunkards, or titled fools. The real power in each clan lay in the hands of able men of inferior rank, who ruled their masters. *These are now the men who compose the present government of Japan.* They rose against the shōgun, overthrew him, sent him to private life, and then compelled their masters the daimiōs to do likewise. They hold the emperor and carry on the government in his name. The mikado, however, is much more of a ruler than his *fainéant* ancestors. Still, the source of government is the same. The power has been shifted, not changed, and is displayed by moving new machinery and doing new work.

Who are now, and who have been, the actual leaders in Japan since 1868? They are Ōkubo, Kido, Iwakura, Sanjō, Gotō, Katsū, Soyejima, Ōkuma, Ōki, Ito, and many others of whom but two or three are kugé, while none are daimiōs. Almost all were simple samurai, or retainers of the territorial nobles.

The objects of the revolution of 1868 have been accomplished. The shōgunate and the feudal system are forever no more. The mikado is now the restored and beloved emperor. The present personage, a young man of twenty-two years of age, has already shown great independence and firmness of character, and may in future become as much the real ruler of his people as the Czar is of his. The enterprise of establishing Shintō as the national faith has failed vastly and ignominiously, though the old Shintō temples have been purged and many new ones erected, while official patronage and influence give the ancient cult a fair show in the fleshly eyes of tourists who "do" Japan in a week. Buddhism is still the religion of the Japanese people, though doubtless on the wane. The promises of the new government as to the formation of a genuine representative assembly have not yet been fulfilled.

To summarize what we have sought in this paper to explain, we have proved that the shōgun was simply one of the many vassals of the mikado of comparatively inferior grade, and historically a usurper ; that the term “ tycoon ” was a diplomatic fraud, a title to which the shōgun had, officially, not the shadow of right ; that the foreign diplomatists made treaties with one who had no right whatever to make them ; that the bakufu was an organized usurpation ; that the stereotyped statements concerning a “ spiritual ” and a “ secular ” emperor are literary fictions of foreign book-makers ; that feudalism arose upon the decadence of the mikado’s power ; that it was the chief hindrance to national unity, and that it was ready for its fall before the shock came ; that in all Japanese history the reverence for the mikado’s person and the throne has been the strongest national trait and the mightiest political force, and that the bakufu exaggerated the mikado’s sacredness for its own purposes ; that the Japanese are impressible and ever ready to avail themselves of whatever foreign aids or appliances will tend to their own aggrandizement ; that nevertheless there exists a strong tendency to conserve the national type, pride, feelings, religion, and equality with, if not superiority to, all the nations of the world ; that the true explanation of the events of the last seven years in Japan is to be sought in these tendencies and the internal history of the nation ; that the shōgun, bakufu, and feudalism would have fallen, even though foreigners had never landed in Japan ; that the movement toward modern civilization originated from within, and was not the result of foreign impact or pressure ; that the work of enlightenment and education, which alone could assure success to the movement, was begun and carried on by native students, statesmen, and simple patriots.

Whether the present philo-Europeanism will ripen into a genuine desire to regenerate an Asiatic despotism, and to elevate the individual man in the mass of political ciphers that compose an Asiatic population, we are unable to prophesy, or to give an opinion worth recording. This we believe, that unless the modern enlightened ideas of government, law, society, and the rights of the individual are adopted to a far greater extent in Japan than they have been thus far, and unless a mightier

spiritual force than either Shintō or Buddhism is allowed unimpeded operation, we see little prospect of aught better than the gain of a glittering veneer of material civilization, and the corroding foreign vices under which, in the presence of the superior aggressive races of the West, Japan must fall like the doomed races of America and Hawaii.

WILLIAM E. GRIFFIS.

- ART. III. — 1. *Städtische Armen-Verwaltung*. Elberfeld. 1873.
 2. *Das Armenwesen und die Armengesetzgebung in Europäischen Staaten*. A. EMMINGHAUS. Berlin. 1870.
 3. *Un Problème de la Misère, et cet.* L. M. MOREAU-CHRISTOPHE. Paris. 1851.
 4. *Rapport sur la situation du Pauperisme en France*. M. LE BARON DE WATTEVILLE. Paris. 1854.
 5. *Reports of Local Government Board*. London. 1872.
 6. *Pauperism, its Causes and Remedies*. PROFESSOR HENRY FAWCETT. London. 1871.
 7. *Reports of State Boards of Charity of New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts*. 1870–1874.

MALTHUS, in his celebrated “Essay on Population,” — a work which has been more abused than it deserved, — makes this just observation: “The kind of despotic power, essential to voluntary charity, gives the greatest facility to the selection of worthy objects of relief, without being accompanied by any ill consequences, and has, further, a most beneficial effect from the degree of uncertainty which must necessarily be attached to it. It is in the highest degree important to the general happiness of the poor, that no man should look to charity as a fund on which he may confidently depend.” (Vol. II. p. 430.)

Mr. Malthus may have presented the data for his reasoning in a somewhat cold-blooded fashion, yet they are principles which all the latest investigations under the Darwinian hypothesis are especially bringing into prominence: that the tendency of increase of population, were it not for destructive agencies, would soon be far beyond the means of subsistence, and that